Columbia Supplement

The Intercollegiate Socialist

Education and the World Peace

By Prof. ELLEN HAYES
Wellesley College

I. S. S. Convention Proceedings

Other Articles by

Paul Kennaday, Jessie W. Hughan, Ph.D., Paul H. Douglas, Wayne Wellman, S. S. Bobbe, S. Sholes, Ordway Tead, Walter Hinkle.

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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I. S. S. Research Bureau

One of the most vital needs of educated people interested in social solutions is a scientific literature dealing with facts of our present-day industrial life and with immediate important measures of social control. Such a literature has been gradually built up in England, largely through the efforts of the Fabian Society. In order to assist in supplying this lack in the United States, a friend of the Society has recently given a small endowment for the establishment of an I. S. S. Research Bureau.

This bureau is tentatively planning to publish pamphlets dealing with such present-day problems as the distribution of wealth, the extent of collectivism and the extent of voluntary co-operation in this country, and with such measures for social control as unemployment, the distribution of population, collective ownership of the railroads, telephones, telegraphs, etc. Later the more theoretical phases of Socialism and the Socialist movement may be considered. Mr. N. I. Stone, formerly Chief Statistician of the U. S. Tariff Commission, has already volunteered to write a pamphlet on the distribution of wealth, and others have offered their services along other lines. Articles will be submitted to experts in particular fields before publication, and an effort will be made to render the pamphlets thoroughly scientific and thoroughly readable. They will probably be published as supplements to *The Intercollegiate Socialist,* but will also be sold separately and, perhaps, issued in book form. The work will of necessity be largely voluntary in its nature. The Society will appreciate the names and addresses of those who might be able to assist it in its investigations. It believes that there are vast possibilities for usefulness in this work.

Books on International Socialism

A number of members of the Executive Committee have been hard at work during the last year in preparing source books on international Socialism. One of these books will contain excerpts from the speeches, resolutions, and discussions of the various Socialist Parties throughout the world, on such vital problems as universal suffrage, the general strike, immigration, unemployment, etc. The second, on "Socialism and the War," compiled largely by William English Walling, is expected to appear during the next few weeks. An effort is being made in both of these publications to have all phases of the Socialist movement impartially portrayed. In some respects these books will mark an epoch in literature on The International.

An I. S. S. Summer School

The delegates at the Sixth Annual Convention urged the Executive Committee to consider the establishment of an I. S. S. Summer School. This matter is now under consideration. The Fabian Summer School of England, which for several years past has been discussing vital social problems, has proved of great value. The establishment of such a school this year will depend upon the response of the members and friends of the I. S. S. Those interested are asked to correspond with the central organization.

H. W. L.

Professors and Free Speech

It is seemingly a far cry from the demands of Tannenbaum and Becky Edelson to the deliberations of the American societies of economics, of sociology and political science, yet the discourses of the learned in regard to free speech fol-

lowed the fulminations of the I. W. W. by less than a year. Those who believe in the unprogressiveness of college professors, take notice!

This phenomenon is not so inexplicable as may appear at first sight. Wesleyan, Marietta, Lafayette, and other colleges have taken upon themselves the job of heresy-hunting. The efficiency watch has been held on the teaching staff at Harvard and elsewhere, and strange to say these staffs have rebelled at the beauties of scientific management. So it is only natural after all that the American Sociological Society should have chosen the general subject of free communication for its consideration at its annual meeting at Princeton from Dec. 28th to 31st.

For four sessions the society took up the various channels of free communication: the Assemblage, Speech, the Press, and Teaching. The determination of the great majority to keep these channels open and to preserve them unpoisoned was clearly manifest throughout. Stories of injustice poured in from all sections of the country, indicating that the matter was not one of doctrinaire interest for the obscurantist, but one vital to our economic and social life. It seemed to be the testimony of all present that the police or "detectives" were generally responsible for any violence that occurred, and that labor would in general be pacific in intention and conduct if accorded the right of free communication.

In discussing freedom of speech in the colleges, Professor Scott Nearing of the University of Pennsylvania stated that it was not necessary to worry so much about those professors who were actually discharged, for they were few in number and could generally take care of themselves. The real danger came from the timid ones who did not dare speak their thoughts.

It was frequently contended that there were legitimate restrictions to the right of free communication. However, the twilight zone between absolute liberty and forced curtailment was seldom explored.

There was one disappointing feature of the discussion. Freedom of communication was looked upon more in the light of a blowing off of steam than as a dynamic factor in a progressive democracy. The session did not want to have capital sit upon the safety-valve, but it did not seem to think that the steam might also drive wheels. Discussion was valued because it emasculated effort, rather than because it stimulated action. One could not help feeling that the meetings had somewhat missed the point. The use of freedom may bring revolts and movements stirring in the extreme, yet even if this were so, we should still guarantee opportunity for free discussion. Only from that can come a rational democracy. Without it our institutions will be but dead weights upon mute and expressionless labor.

The freedom needed to-day is industrial freedom. We can but condemn feudalism wherever it is found, whether in Colorado coal fields, New York department stores, the news-rooms of the press, or the lecture halls of our colleges. Restriction in these lines will not be tolerated by college professors any more than by labor unions. To that extent, at least, the masses and the intellectual classes are joined in a common fight.

One significant event should be tacked on to this brief account, a postscript which sheds light upon the whole. During the following days in New York many professors helped to organize the first association of university instructors. This association begins its career with a large membership, and to its rank "no dean or college president is eligible." Is "the black-coated proletariat" becoming class-conscious?

PAUL HOWARD DOUGLAS,
President Columbia Chapter I. S. S.

Education and the World Peace

By Prof. Ellen Hayes
Wellesley College

An examination of a collection of current plans for assuring permanent peace discloses the fact that, however else they differ, most of them have this in common: a naive assumption that there will always be, in every nation, a higher class which makes wars and which must be looked to to make and maintain peace. This involves a second assumption: the persistence of docility and submissiveness in the masses.

And why not make these assumptions? The decisions of the overlords always have passed without general scrutiny or challenge. Whenever a decision has brought peace the underlings have accepted it with meek gratitude; when it resulted in war, with equally meek resignation.

Nevertheless, the weakness of all these peace schemes resides in their assumptions. The nature of privilege is such that its possessors are disqualified for entering into relations of justice with their fellow men. A fitful paternalism is the limit of their regard for others. Any opportunity for wider markets, advantageous investments, social prestige, political power will unfailingly deaden moral sensitiveness and obscure the claims of those whose suffering is the price of such opportunity. When the master class reaches a moral point where glory cannot effectively allure it, or profits bribe it, or envy entangle it, the spectacle of lower exploited orders will be intolerable, and the abolishing of class distinctions will be quite as insistent and large a concern as the establishing of peace.

In so far as the ruling class now analyzes the situation, it legitimately reaches the re-assuring fact that at least four superstitions make for the permanent subjection of the masses of men. If the average person can be taught to reverence position and wealth; to yield to the printed word—any word so long as it is printed; to hold it unpatriotic to ask why and disloyal to demur; to believe that battlefields are divine orderings—he may be indefinitely kept a tool for work and for war. It is safe to give him a ballot and tell him that he lives under a democracy if the quasi-democratic qualities of his government are maintained by disguising fallacies as arguments and sophistries as wisdom.

A recent letter from a friend in London contains this question: "What do your statesmen think of it all?" Our statesmen. The next man you meet in the street would probably say, "Yes, sir. Great statesmen here, but, this being a republic, of course every man has his own political views." Have you, indeed, Mr. Average American Citizen? Then, pray, explain why you attach so much value to the views of Senator A, and Judge B, and Reverend Dr. C and College President D, and especially to those of Editor X, who writes for the one daily paper you read. You make the thoughts of these persons your own because they are titled folk, and not because you have ever discovered, or tried to discover, whether the words they speak are those of truth and wisdom. This superficial average man, with his certainties and elasticities, his dear delusions and his belief in caste, may just as well be let alone. If he is a type he is happily not the only type; and the hope of the world does not reside in him or die with him.

The plutocrat, the militarist, the politician, recognizing the existence of

another type, suspect, and the infamous Treitschkean school of historians know that superstitions have a way of aging and decaying—in spite of every precaution.

With apparent suddenness, some morning, precedents of fifty thousand years' standing are discredited and repudiated. Even now, if one but half listens, he may hear many voices in ominous concert, and their words are not so much threat or demand as announcement: "Lords and gentlemen, we are done with the vast murder that you call war; we are done with hunger and privation, with ignorance and poverty. You have wasted our bodies as pleased you, and trampled on our minds —and given yourselves credit for doing it. But this is not to be, anymore. We are not inviting you into the middle of the road to argue the matter; for it is a question of opinion, and your opinion is not ours, and we shall get nowhere in argument. It is enough that what you call right we call wrong.

Dumas, reichstags, parliaments, congresses—what are these? Come you out of them, for we shall now make them ours and determine our own fates. Never again are you to ordain that the workingman must strike down his brother worker; that the fires are to go out on our hearths while our children wander, cold and naked and hungry, and our blood colors the rivers of the land. We have had enough of your rule and your vain, deceitful talk of national honor and glory. Take your hats and come out. Quietly, if you please. We do not wish any scenes. The twentieth century has already plenty of scandals to form her shame when she stands to be judged by the twenty-fifth century. We purpose now, in this age, to make it the first object of nations to live in peace and mutual helpfulness. Room for the proletariat, room!"

Impossible, do you say, that the masses of mankind shall ever come to so definite and complete a resolution for self-government? But no one knows what is possible until the track is cleared and handicaps put aside. Opportunity has made strength, privilege has given speed; and so the race has always been to the strong, the laurels to the swift. We might try what would happen if the conditions of a genuine sociocracy were once fairly put before a nation for its acceptance. One way, if not the only way, to do this would be to order a new sort of education for our future teachers, editors, and writers.

Last August I watched a regiment of Swiss civilian soldiers, fully armed and in marching gear as they stood to take the oath to defend the Fatherland. To such need had it come that those innocent peace-loving men were leaving fields and herds and shops to go to the border. Soberly, without enthusiasm, without reluctance, they lifted their right hands in solemn promise. The Jungfrau stood witness and the river Aare rushed to carry their vows to the Rhine. But just a few steps away in Bern's beautiful public garden was that monument to the International Postal Union—a great sphere encircled by hurrying figures representing the continents—each figure receiving in one hand a letter, and with the other, passing a letter on. Looking at it after the troops had marched away, I recalled some words inscribed on a certain building in New York City: "Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds." The internationalism of the Postal Union is but a preface to a coming internationalism, varied, powerful and enduring—not to be made so by diplomatic papers but by the open determination of the plain people themselves. Not one country or another, but this round Earth, the Motherland of us all, needs millions of young hands—young and strong and

clean—raised to swear to defend her, and thus to defend Humanity, from the measureless wrong that a few can do through false teaching and iniquitous action. The claims of mankind rise above all claims of nation and country, and the real leaders who recognize this shall not go unaccompanied and lonely. Their example calls to their side men and women "accustomed to swear in the words of no master."

Across ocean and battlefields I salute you, Rosa Luxemburg, and you, Karl Liebknecht. Liberty cannot be a mere dream or equality an illusion or fraternity a mocking ideal so long as the human race produces such as you.

To assure permanent peace implies a definite and gigantic prelude: namely, the replacing of pseudo-democracies by true sociocracies — accomplishing this through an education which shall be directed to freeing minds rather than modifying external conditions and relations. For social mal-adjustments, including industrial and political, will automatically disappear if men can be redeemed from servility, and if this one pre-eminent ethic can be taught everywhere—that no child on earth, however meanly born, is to be held cheap and denied opportunity; nor are any to be wasted in body and crushed in mind in order that others may have plentiful satisfactions.

Happy is he who, catching some glimpses of the coming commonwealth of the world, elects to be a courier to pass the word along, and who will not be stayed from the swift completion of his chosen task either by snow or rain or heat or the gloom of this present night.*

NOTE:—This article by Prof. Hayes is an excerpt from her address at the Sixth Annual Convention Dinner I. S. S.

In Time of Peace, Stick To It

By PAUL KENNADAY

These are days unequalled in opportunities for the American college student of Socialism, days of opportunities the like of which have never been before—and, let us hope, will never come again. With the workers of every continent fighting each other seemingly with the ardor, surely with even more terrible effect than in the wars before Socialism held out hopes of peace on earth, good will among the workers of the world, the members of the I. S. S. have a work to do no man or woman of us can disregard or postpone.

For America, the one "first class power" which was not drawn into this war of the nations, is the one great power which was not prepared for war. And when the war at last is over, when the nations and their peoples then shall count the cost, we of America, still unprepared for war, must go before them to plead our case for smaller armaments for all the nations of the earth. Unarmed, with clean hands, we can command an attentive hearing. It is by no means a fantastic dream, a sentimental, unpracticable hope that wearied, stricken and disillusioned, the workers of Germany, France, Austria, England, Russia, may compel their governments to follow in our lead.

It will be no easy task to persuade others that security and peace are to be preserved through smaller rather than through greater armaments, even when men shall have had time to measure the immensity of the catastrophe brought upon them by preparedness

for war. Now with this duty to all humanity upon our shoulders, we of America must not make the task impossible by following the dictates of those who would have us still believe that security for peace is to be obtained only through preparation for war, who would have our army and the navy now brought up to a "war basis." The undergraduates of Columbia were among the first to see that college men and women ought to work against the breaking of peace by preparedness for war. At a rousing meeting on December 13th, a very large body of students went on record before Congress and the people of the United States, as opposed to militarism in general and an increase in our army and navy in particular. It was an excellent idea of a number of the delegates to the I. S. S. Convention to follow up this Columbia lead with similar public demonstrations in other colleges. Powerful and not always disinterested forces in America taking advantage of the present war to call this nation now to arms point clearly to the necessity for organization widespread and energetic to preach peace and to work against armaments.

During the mid-year examinations, the American League to Limit Armaments plans to invite delegates from a number of colleges to meet in New York to perfect an intercollegiate association for the limitation of armaments. Organized and working in unison, the influence of this association promises to be of real value in the movement in and out of the colleges to keep this country in those paths of peace where later the nations now at war may come to walk with her.

Too Much Tolerance

By Wayne Wellman,
Secretary of Columbia Chapter.

"Why didn't you Socialists stop the war?" was the scornful question put to us some months ago by our old-party friends. We, stunned and horrified by the frightfulness of the thing, and grieving over what we ourselves called "the collapse of internationalism," let their question go unanswered, and their disdain unrebuked. Yet often enough before the war began we had listened to their foolish raillery—had tolerated their self-styled humor when they dubbed us "Utopians" and "Dreamers"; and had tried to reason with them when they prated about the disaster and chaos which would come with the setting up of the Socialist state. We allowed them to laugh us down in the matter of our ideals, our hopes, our aims and our aspirations—and then when *their* system proved itself to be imbecile, idiotic, a failure, we whom they had denied a chance, let them ask us why we hadn't stopped the war! Too much tolerance, is the most ladylike way of describing our attitude that I can bring myself to use.

We have been so tolerant of those whose "intellectual scruples are really only the cloak of indifference or laziness or private interest," that we have won a weak and silly tolerance for ourselves which is merely fatuous reciprocity of weakness. We have allowed ourselves to become so nearly respectable, that soon we shall afford such a spectacle as the bourgeois bohemian. Our attitude has been so conciliatory that it has been construed as apologetic; we have tried to be suave and our seriousness has been impugned; we have met insinuation

quietly instead of with righteous resentment. Tolerance is a destructive force and it is time we have done with it.

It has been too often true that Socialists have been doctrinaires, or specialists, that they have gone about preaching their creed when their audiences have differed from them less in theory than in desire, and in overcoming this attitude we have played too long with the indefiniteness of tolerance. To be positive and intolerant is the better way. "The decay of Roman civilization was marked by tolerance of every sort of morals, philosophy, religion. The rise of that civilization which succeeded it was heralded by the intolerant persecution of Christianity, itself an intolerant movement. Eighteenth-century France was marked by a similar universal tolerance, but it was the bitter intolerance of the Revolution which ended this complacency, out of which new standards emerged."

When we are met with banter, with good-natured superiority, and what appears to be nice discrimination, let us be neither tolerant nor tolerated—if we have met with the true stuff, there will be intellectual strife—and we shall have escaped the danger of tolerance which is that it destroys the capacity for constructive thought. The next time we are asked why we didn't stop the war, let us answer: "Because you had control of the governments, of the armies, of the navies, and we weren't strong enough. But the day is coming when we shall replace your cannon with our common-sense, and then you sha'n't be strong enough to push the world into hell."

Dabbling in Socialism

By S. S. Bobbe
Columbia Law, 1915

That the average American college student is largely a superficial dabbler in his life work has long been a platitude. Most of us have professed to see in the intercollegiate Socialist movement a welcome savior from this chronic disease. Socialism in itself, being a liberalizing education, we argued, merely to come under its influence would deepen and broaden the mind of the college student. Now, no one can doubt that Socialism has broadened the outlook of the student who has come into contact with it; that it has injected a serious tone into all his thought, and that it has illuminated and made significant all his studies. But what other than this same superficiality has the college student brought to Socialism? In other words, has not Socialism in the hands of the college student become another toy for his dabbling?

College Socialists will frequently make the admission—and even the boast—that Socialism is with them a matter of instinct rather than of intellectual conviction. And the tragedy is that in most cases they are telling the exact truth. This "chosen" minority from that very small minority of the community that has been picked or privileged to do the highest thinking of that community, makes the confession that it has abandoned thought for feeling! Of course, we do not expect Socialists to be mere thinking machines, but we certainly do not wish them to think with their feelings. And that is what a great many college Socialists are doing.

The disadvantage in relying on the

emotions is that, no matter how well-meaning they may be, emotions have no direction. The "feeling" for Socialism can take the shape of Progressivism as well as of Syndicalism, of the Single Tax as well as of Anarchism. To illustrate: Columbia has been, until very recently, a breeding-place for Syndicalists. Syndicalism presented an appealing picture to the imagination of the students; it seemed to call into play more of the element of physical vigor; it delighted the esthetic yearnings of the students just as the sacrifices made by the young men of their respective countries have seemed to give cause for ecstacy to the English, French and German poets. And now, nearly all of these students have, one by one, whether rightly or wrongly, abandoned their Syndicalism, having decided, after their first intoxication, either that Syndicalism is not a genuinely revolutionary movement, or else that it does not possess the glamor they first saw in it. Now, what is to prevent a Socialism founded on similarly unstable lines from collapsing as quickly and perhaps more disastrously, when those possessing the emotion sober up? Or, worse still, what is going to be the retroactive effect of an emotional Socialism when disseminated by the graduates?

As simple and as beautiful as Socialism is in its broad lines, it is not a theory or a movement to be thoroughly understood and appreciated without much thought and study. Much of the best thought on Socialism has been stored away in Socialist literature. The lists published by the Intercollegiate Socialist Society make access to that literature an easy matter; and it is the college Socialist's first duty to himself and to the movement to make use of that literature. Along with that must come a wider exploitation of the study meeting, and the result will surely be a sounder, less hazy Socialism.

Socialism and the College Man

Sol Sholes,
Columbia Law, 1915

Within recent years the Socialists have come to realize that college men and women make good Socialists, when once they have been "converted to the cause." It is because of this realization of the worth of such conversion that the problem has arisen as to how to reach college-bred people.

Up to the present Socialism's appeal has been largely an ethical one. Tell the collegian how miserable is the lot of the workers, it has been argued, appeal to his sense of social righteousness and, out of his infinite mercy and goodness, and, perhaps, at the cost of much sacrifice to himself, he will enlist to ameliorate the conditions that make the lot of the workers so desperate. Above all, do not preach the class struggle or talk too much about exploitation.

To my mind, this is not the proper way to reach the college man. We collegians are not much better morally or mentally than the average worker. True, we may know a few more facts, we may possibly have a keener appreciation of literature, art and music than is possessed by the workers, but we are about as likely as are they to follow what appears to be our self-interest. Unless, therefore, Socialists can bring home to the college students the fact that when they get out into the world they, as members of the intellectual proletariat, are likely to suffer

exploitation with the rest of the workers, we will fail in our efforts to interest any considerable number of college men and women vitally enough in Socialism to cause them to join the Socialist Party or even to work with it.

Can we urge this argument of self-interest? Yes, most decidedly! For when we consider the greater productivity of the intellectually trained person and compare the product of his labor with his earnings, we cannot fail to see how great is the exploitation to which he is being subjected.

The doctrines of the class struggle and the exploitation of labor, the promulgation of which assists so effectively in bringing workers into such a political organization as the Socialist Party, can also exert a most powerful influence on the college student.

Only in one respect perhaps must our tactics in appealing to college men differ somewhat from those used in reaching the manual proletariat. We must put more stress on our immediate, and less on our ultimate demands. The college man is concerned with the now and how. He is suspicious of glittering generalities. He can understand social insurance, the minimum wage, government ownership. He may not understand whether or not the acceptance of the theory of surplus value is essential to an adherence to the Socialist movement. Interest him in the specific remedies that the Socialists propose and his interest in the philosophy and economics of the movement will come later. Let this not be understood, however, to mean that the ethical significance, the philosophy and economics of the Socialist movement have no appeal. But we must first show the college man that he is one of the exploited workers and that through Socialism he can find the way out; furthermore, that Socialism is concerned with the affairs of today, and not merely with those of the distant future.

REVIEW OF BOOKS

DRIFT AND MASTERY. By Walter Lippmann. N. Y.: Kennerley. $1.50.

Mr. Lippmann sees our maelstrom of a world clearly, perhaps a little too clearly, and readily essays the task of guiding us amid its changing currents.

Not only, he says, are there new problems confronting us—the trusts, the labor union, the emancipated woman—but the old incentives which formerly spurred men to action are constantly growing weaker. Our solutions of social problems must be based on the newer incentives that have supplanted the old. Moreover, environment is changing so rapidly that the religions, the authorities, the isms of our fathers no longer hold. The modern liberal is adrift without an anchor in an untried sea. In the women's movement, however, with its possible release of co-operative forces, in the disappearance of certain old bogeys such as sin and reputation, and in the new attitude toward the old ideals of poverty, chastity, and obedience, we see the beginnings of mastery—a mastery to come with the triumph of the scientific spirit and the creative imagination.

There are flashes of light in nearly every one of these pages. There is, moreover, an informal realism such as delights us in the science of Professor James, a recognition that the author, like the reader, is a citizen possessing collar-buttons and maiden aunts; and there is also a real power of sympathy with such apparently opposed types as William Haywood and Woodrow Wilson.

On several subjects Mr. Lippmann

makes decidedly valuable contributions —notably in his treatment of the I. W. W. as guerilla warfare, and of the mistakes of certain feminists in urging women to win freedom by entering the bondage of capitalist employment.

With all its brilliancy and clear outlook "Drift and Mastery," like its companion, "A Preface to Politics", is a little disappointing. Disillusionment is everywhere—with capitalism, with Socialism, with labor, with feminism, with idealism — and even the frequent pointing out of hitherto unnoticed good tendencies appears often a testimony to the author's final disillusionment—with muck-raking itself. Mr. Lippmann is the liberal of his Part II. For him the Rock of Ages has been blasted. He has cast aside the certitude that may go with fanaticism; and, while those men who still cling to their Gibraltars of Christianity or Socialism or democracy are pegging away at their perhaps mistaken jobs with artless confidence, he bids them all call a halt and seek with him the first principles which they thought they had already found.

As is to be expected, Mr. Lippmann, while optimistic with regard to society, pins his faith to no one principle, such as Socialism, as a remedy for existing evils. While recognizing, moreover, the general influence of economic determinism, he looks to the deliberate efforts of the expert, far more than to the impersonal forces of industrial development, for the working out of the problems which that development has set before us. "Drift and Mastery" is accordingly Progressive rather than Socialist in its tendency, and it is not without significance that Theodore Roosevelt has given it the stamp of his approval. Perhaps it is this papal recognition, coming as it does upon the ultra-revolutionism of many of Mr. Lippmann's passages, that suggests once more his own characterization of the men who have developed "a habit of chronic rebellion."

"It is hardly necessary to recall what troubled spirits the romanticists were, how terrible the disillusionments. Their histories were with few exceptions tragic: and the 'unending pursuit of the ever-fleeting object of desire' led many of them back into the arms of the Catholic Church. . . . Whatever their virtues, and they are many, they never attained that inner harmony whose outward sign is a cordial human life."

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, Ph.D.
Columbia.

THE COLLECTIVIST STATE IN THE MAKING. By Emil Davies. London: G. Bell & Sons. N. Y.: Macmillan. 1914.

For one tired of theories, and desirous of knowing what is being done at the present time, this book is extremely valuable and illuminating. The author, refraining from theorizing or advancing schemes for the speedy establishment of the Millenium, proceeds to inquire how far the collectivist spirit has at present expressed itself in definite undertakings; and shows, by an amazing number and variety of examples taken from countries all over the world, an increasingly powerful trend toward Collectivism, as encouraging to the supporters of the movement as it is discouraging to its opponents.

Mr. Davies, a practical and successful financier and business man, be it noted, examines in detail the varied forms of state and municipal activity now in operation throughout the world, and considers them from a thoroughly practical standpoint. How are they run? For what purpose? How is this purpose realized? How does public operation compare with the previous private operation? These are the questions Mr. Davies has constantly in mind. Each municipal and state undertaking is considered from the financial side, (from the point of view of efficiency and quality of service rendered), and in its effect upon public welfare and the welfare of the workers. Ex-

amples are cited of municipal and state ownership of land utilized for productive purposes; of state ownership of railways, telephones and telegraphs; of state and municipal ownership of power plants, mines, forests, etc.; of state insurance and banking operations; of municipal gas works, transportation lines, markets, lodging houses, bakeries, crematoria — and a host of other enterprises too numerous to mention. Very little is said, however, of public libraries, public fire departments, public education, public roads and bridges, public health, the valiant defenders of private enterprise having yielded a reluctant but complete consent to seeing these domains of individual life appropriated by the state. The successful and satisfactory operation of these various enterprises is evidenced by the steady and relentless extension of municipalization and nationalization to one thing or another, despite the frantic opposition of a nearly unanimous press, and the beseeching wails of private interests, which vainly endeavor to check the growth of the collectivist spirit.

Other chapters deal with the methods of taking over industries by municipality or nation, which are treated in an exceptionally clear and intelligent way by the author; with the relation of these collective enterprises to the labor problem, particularly the increasing demand of the workers for some share in the control of industry; and with the earning and distribution of wealth and services by them. On this last point the book would be severely handled by the Syndicalist. Advancing no theories as to what should be the ultimate form of society, Mr. Davies considers the collectivist movement in its present day aspect; and speaks as glibly of profits, rent, and interest—anathema to the Syndicalist, and perhaps the Socialist mind—as does the private owner and coupon-cutter. But this apparent bourgeois weakness is due to the necessity of the situation; for the author in describing things as they are to-day, accepts along with them the attitude of mind of the vast majority of the people, and deals with collectivist undertakings based on the modes of thought and feeling which exist now, and perhaps will for many years to come.

Frequent bits of humor and satire enliven the book; and one remarkable passage, entitled "From Birth to Death" (page 124), demonstrates how completely an individual can at the present moment rely upon state enterprise, time and distance eliminated, for his whole pre-earthly, earthly, and post-earthly existence.

WALTER HINKLE.

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS. By Helen Marot. N. Y.: Holt, $1.50.

"This book undertakes to give the labor union point of view of labor union policies and methods which characterize the labor organization of national reputation." This prefatory characterization of Miss Marot's lucid discussion of unionism in America is perhaps its best summary. Comprising accurate description of the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, the I. W. W., the Women's Trade Union League, the book rises to its most telling value in the chapters on Labor and the Courts, Violence, Strikes and Sabotage wherein these matters most difficult of sympathetic understanding by the general public are given their human emphasis and point. It cannot be said that the book covers new ground or material. Its value is rather in that it presents a brief, unified, consistent and, on that account, somewhat colorless exposition of all the important organizations and issues among industrial workers. While not absolutely committing herself on the question of craft as against industrial unions, Miss Marot tests the case with this hopeful analysis:

"There are members of organized labor throughout the country who look on . . . . . the divisions as signs of new life and strength. They regard each group as an experiment or trial in theories and methods for the overcoming of labor's deadliest foe —the apathy of labor itself. Viewed in this light, the factions may be a province of approach toward an eventual unity of like interests if not a solidarity of all labor."

The volume is especially recommended to non-unionists of all classes.

Ordway Tead.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By Rose Strunsky. N. Y.: Macmillan. $2.25.

Abraham Lincoln can well be called our greatest national asset. His personality, expanding as time advances, is perhaps a more effective agent in assimilating those who knock at our gates than all the settlements and various other plans for social betterment that aim to transform Jans into John and Janis into Jane. It is therefore significant as well as interesting that a life of Lincoln should appear from the pen of a native of Russia, Miss Rose Strunsky. Our paradoxical friend Chesterton once said that when he wanted to understand England, he always went to France. The truth of this dictum is evidenced by the fresh point of view Miss Strunsky brings to the examination of our one great national hero.

Most of us read biography because we prefer personalities to ideas and want to put flesh upon the dry bones of history. Some, following Carlyle, the fulminating peasant in a world of courtiers, hail the great man as the very guide and pillar of his time. If we are explaining the causes of the industrial revolution, what is easier to say than that Watt invented the steam engine; if the freeing of the slaves, what is easier to say than that Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation? This method has one great advantage; it saves anyone from thinking about anything.

Miss Strunsky refuses to treat biography in such an unscientific manner. She regards great men as representatives of their time and class. The key to her interpretation of Lincoln is found in the preface where she declares that "he is not merely 'the great liberator,' he is part and parcel of his class, the small homesteader who claimed an equal opportunity in the virgin forests. As such he is not a hero, he is a people."

This viewpoint is stimulating, and in it lies the chief merit of the book. No new facts about Lincoln are adduced. It is perhaps well, for the purposes of accuracy, that they are not, for most of the new "facts" discovered are really invented, and a Lincoln myth is being created that will furnish material for our historical students of centuries to come.

Incidentally Miss Strunsky reminds us that the boy of the immigrant who to-day is told the story of Lincoln and is fired with the resolve of being President, will not find the free land which caused Lincoln and his class to be. Democracy has been forced to seek new strongholds and the Lincoln of to-morrow may well come from the Ghetto.

Paul Howard Douglas.

A COURSE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Note:—The following tentative course on International Relations has been prepared by Jessie W. Hughan, Ph.D., and Nicholas Kelley, of the Executive Committee.

While the committee, in the short time at its disposal, was unable to prepare a course with any claim to scientific completeness, it yet seems advisable to suggest to the chapters some readings on the general subject of war and peace. International relations are not a part of Socialism, though the topics overlap to a great extent, and we believe that these relations can be logically approached only through the Socialist method of the economic interpretation of history.

1.—Modern World-Commerce.

Norman Angell—*The Great Illusion.*

Norman Angell—*International Polity,* Chap. 3 (Arms and Industry).

David Starr Jordan—*The Unseen Empire.*
Sereno Pratt—*Finance and Commerce*—A. A. I. C.

2.—The Causes of Modern War.
Kirkpatrick—*War, What For?* Chap. 3.
G. B. Shaw—*Common-Sense About the War.*
Usher—*Pan-Germanism.*
Bernhardi—*Germany and the Next War,* Chap. 5.
Angell—*The Great Illusion.*
Hillquit—*The Metropolitan,* Dec., '14.

3.—The Facts of War and Militarism.
Kirkpatrick—*War, What For?* Chaps. 4-5.
Blioch—*The Future of War.*
A. T. Mahan—*Armaments and Militarism.*
A. W. Allen—*The Drain of Armament*—W. P. F.
Social Wastage of War—Report of Mass. Commission on The Cost of Living, May, 1910, p. 198, ff.
L. A. Mead—*Swords and Ploughshares,* Chap. 4.
Angell—*International Polity,* Chaps. 4-5 (Arms and Industry).

4.—The Peace Ideal and Non-Resistance.
L. N. Tolstoi—*Bethink Yourselves.*
Jane Addams—*Newer Ideals of Peace,* Chaps. 1, 8.
L. A. Mead—*Swords and Ploughshares,* Chaps. 10-12.
Wm. James—*The Moral Equivalent of War.*
Nicholas M. Butler—*The International Mind.*
D. S. Jordan—*War and Waste.*

5.—International Law and Arbitration.
John B. Moore—*Digest of International Law.*
John B. Moore—*American Diplomacy,* Chap. 8.
General Arbitration Treaties of 1911—A. A. I. C.
The Commission of Inquiry—W. P. E.
Mead—*Swords and Ploughshares,* Chaps. 13, 15.

6.—Proposed Remedies and Palliatives for War.
Hillquit—*The Metropolitan,* Jan., '15.
The Hague Conference—
Instructions to American Delegates, 1907—W. P. F.
Record of the Hague—W. P. F.
Hudson Maxim—*Peace Through Preparedness.*
Hamilton Holt—*The Independent.*
Allan Benson—*Pearson's Magazine,* Nov. 14.
Manifesto of American Socialist Party, December, 1914.
Programs of World Peace Foundation.
National League for the Limitation of Armament.
The Federalist.

7.—Socialism and War.
Karl Kautsky—*Krieg und Kapitalismus.*
Kirkpatrick—*War, What For?* Chap. 10.
Gustav Herve—*My Country, Right or Wrong.*
Manifesto of American Socialist Party—*The American Socialist,* January, 1915.
Manifestoes of the European Socialist Groups—*The Intercollegiate Socialist,* Oct.-Nov., 1914.
War Year-Book of the I. S. S. (announced).
Untermann—*The Dick Militia Law.*

The files of *The New Review, The International Socialist Review, The American Socialist, The New York Call* (Sunday Magazine), etc., contain illuminating articles on this subject. *The Atlantic Monthly, Pearson's, The Metropolitan, New Republic, The Independent* and *Harper's Weekly* are also well worth perusal. The initials "W. P. F." stand for the World Peace Foundation, with headquarters at 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston; the initials "A. A. I. C." for The American Association for International Conciliation.

Sixth Annual Convention I. S. S.

"The Sixth Annual Convention of the I. S. S. has given to me three of the most inspiring days of my life," wrote a delegate after the sessions were over. That the Convention was, from many standpoints, the most successful and profitable thus far held, was the remark heard on all sides.

The chief subject for discussion at the various sessions was war and the relation of Socialism thereto. Five hundred, chiefly collegians, were present at the convention dinner on December 31st to listen to the illuminating discussion of "How Can Permanent Peace Be Assured?" Hamilton Holt, editor of *The Independent,* vividly described the blight of war, and advocated the formation of a world federation, such federation to possess armaments as great as or slightly greater than those possessed by any one nation or alliance of nations outside of the federation.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman said that the one thing about war which strongly appealed to many workers was the feeling it gave that they were fighting for the commonwealth, and the hope it at times held out to them of gaining something of the romance and poetry of life. Socialism would end this last appeal of war by supplying to the worker in his daily industrial pursuits this poetry and romance as well as the thrill that comes from working together for the common good.

Paul H. Douglas declared that the Socialists, while emphasizing the radical difference between their peace program and that of the bourgeois peace advocates, should co-operate temporarily with every anti-war force.

Professor Ellen Hayes of Wellesley spoke of the necessity of a radical change in our whole educational methods, if we are to create a horror for war, and urged a greater emphasis on the unity of society and the essential brotherhood of man.

Morris Hillquit concluded the program by giving a masterly analysis of the economic basis of war. He declared that so long as there existed the present system of capitalism, which necessitated the finding of ever-expanding markets for the surplus goods which the people produced but had not the wherewithal to purchase, so long there was no guaranty for permanent peace.

NEW YORK CHAPTER RECEPTION.

On Tuesday evening, December 30th, a reception was given by the New York Alumni Chapter to the delegates and friends of the Society. Short addresses, chiefly on the war, made up the program. Nicholas Kelley declared that, in his opinion, a healthy nationalism was not necessarily inconsistent with a healthy internationalism. Mr. Walling took the opposing view, and asserted that nationalism and internationalism were directly opposed and irreconcilable viewpoints.

Walter Lippmann of *The New Republic* asserted that the causes of the European war were chiefly economic and that no remedy for war which did not deal with economic changes was worth great consideration. Upton Sinclair predicted that the workers in many European countries would organize political revolutions for the overturning of aristocratic governments within thirty days after the termination of war.

Jessie W. Hughan declared that it was necessary for American Socialists to decide now on definite anti-war measures to be carried out in case of the declaration of war. Alexander Trachtenberg told of the militarist propaganda carried on in Yale last Spring at the time of the Mexican agitation and the way in which the members of the I. S. S. Chapter check-mated these efforts. Caro Lloyd dwelt upon the spiritual influences in the Socialist movement. Mrs. Florence Kelley drew special attention to the present vigorous campaign in New York for woman suffrage. J. G. Phelps Stokes, the last speaker, emphasized the need of greater humility in the Socialist movement and urged the students not to cast discredit on the movement by careless and unwarranted statements concerning its aims. Harry W. Laidler presided.

QUESTION BOX SESSION.

The remaining open session of the Convention was the Question Box session of Wednesday afternoon, at which William E. Bohn and Algernon Lee handled admirably numerous questions on the principles and tactics of Socialism. Among the questions were:

On the practical working out of Socialism:

Is it not correct to explain Socialism as public ownership of social necessities? What incentives to do good work are offered under Socialism? Will not the Socialist regime suffocate genius and produce automatons? Will Socialism be possible without definite checks on increase of population? How will the worker under Socialism obtain the full product of his labor? How will the product be determined?

On Socialist tactics:

Can there be a rational adjustment between Prohibition and Socialism? What are the principal differences between Socialism and Fabianism? What is the attitude of the majority of Socialists towards feminism? Has the Socialist Party taken a stand in regard to industrial unionism? What is the justification of the absolute control of the man in office by the party?

On Socialist theory:

Is it true that all laborers are exploited of their surplus product? Isn't it possible that some in highly profitable industries produce no surplus? Is it generally conceded by Socialists that Socialism is inevitable? If so, then why work for it? Is it possible to relate to each other, and if so how, the materialistic conception of history, the class struggle and the theory of surplus value? Is a belief in the economic theories of Marx, including the class struggle and economic determinism, necessary to Socialism? Will you explain the relation, if any, which the Marxian theory of value has to that of surplus value? Do Socialists still hold to the Marxian theory that the condition of the working class is becoming steadily worse—do facts support this theory to-day? If not, what conditions will bring about the Social Revolution? Should not a discussion of the "increase of misery" theory include a discussion of the psychology of the

awakened consciousness of his condition in the worker?

On the relation of Socialism to militarism:

In what way can a woman's college help the anti-militaristic movement other than through lectures? Would it be practicable to sign a petition, and to whom should such a petition be sent? Do the speakers favor student military camps? Would you go to war if conscripted? Is not the aggressor in a war the country whose armed force first crosses the border?

REPORTS OF COLLEGES.

The first Executive Session of the Convention was called to order by Miss Mary R. Sanford, Chairman of the Convention Committee, at 2:45 P. M., Tuesday, December 29, 1914, at 90 Grove Street, 34 delegates being present. President J. G. Phelps Stokes then took the chair. Walter Hinkle was elected secretary of the meeting. Harry W. Laidler, Organizing Secretary of the I. S. S., then read the general report of the work of the I. S. S. during the year 1914.

Mr. Laidler stated in part:

"The year 1914-15 is chiefly noteworthy by virtue of the fact that the I. S. S. has, in a greater degree than heretofore, been able to present its message in scores of colleges, before whole college bodies, before economics and sociology classes and before many long-established organizations of undergraduates. In November and December of this year, for instance, the Organizing Secretary addressed 27 economics, sociology and logic classes in 20 colleges of New York and New England, and spoke before college chapels, Y. M. C. A.'s and I. S. S. Chapters, reaching a total of 3000 students and several hundred of the general public.

"Mrs. Stokes addressed the college bodies in a dozen colleges, while Florence Kelley, William English Walling, Algernon Lee, Frank Bohn, Paul Kennaday, John C. Kennedy, John Spargo, Charles Rann Kennedy, John Haynes Holmes and Jessie W. Hughan were among the other lecturers for the Society.

"Increasing sympathy toward Socialism is being shown by economics professors. In the 16 New York and New England colleges in which the views of members of the economics department were obtained, one professor was found to be a dues-paying member of the Socialist Party; four definitely stated that they believed Socialism to be the next system in economic development, while a similar number tacitly admitted this fact Two said that they *strongly suspected* that Socialism would be the next system in economic development, while nine or ten believed the tendency was in that direction, although they were not willing to commit themselves to the whole Socialist program. One called himself a 'Societyist' and prided himself on having made Socialists of a number of his students. One stated that he believed in 'Socialization,' but not in Socialism. One or two claimed that they were agnostics as far as Socialism was concerned and one or two definitely opposed the movement. Some of the professors, however, were not seen, and among these there is undoubtedly a more conservative sentiment.

"Another indication of the increasing interest in Socialism is found in the topics for debates. Colgate, Western Reserve, Ohio Wesleyan, Rochester and other colleges are debating specifically on the subject of Socialism, while many more are arguing the question of collective ownership of railways, etc. Still, another promising feature of the year's work is the organization of the New England Sectional Committee. Walter M. Hinkle, Williams, 1914, and a prominent debater, has been secured as organizer, and Ordway Tead, Amherst, 1914, as chairman. Both are doing excellent work in strengthening undergraduate Chapters in New England.

"The Intercollegiate Socialist Society has this year approximately sixty undergraduate and a dozen alumni Chapters, the same number as at the last Convention. However, in many instances, much greater activity is evinced in the individual Chapters than last year. Thirteen undergraduate and four graduate Chapters were established in 1914, six of them in the Middle Atlantic States, three in New England, two in the South, one in the Middle West and one on the Pacific Coast. Among these Chapters are Florida, John Marshall Law, Oregon Agricultural College, Washington, N. Y. U. School of Commerce, Bates, Bowdoin, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Hamilton, Los Angeles College of Osteopathy, Howard, Amherst and the Universities of Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh. The last three colleges reorganized after a year or more of inactivity. The Alumni Chapters formed were Buffalo, Fresno, Wilkes-Barre and Schenectady. A number of Chapters lapsed on account of the graduation of the active spirits. Among the unaffiliated groups is one at Wellesley, with a membership of 81. In many other colleges Chapters are definitely contemplated.

"Undergraduate groups in the various sections of the country are located as follows: New England States 16, of which Massachusetts has 11; Middle Atlantic States 16, of which New York has 11; Middle Western States 19, of which Ohio has 8; Far West 5, of which California has 3; South 4, and Canada 1. Among the most active and largest Chapters this year are Union Theological Seminary, which has a membership of 53 and comprises about one-fourth of the college body,

Columbia, Yale, Radcliffe, Valparaiso, Harvard and Cornell. The University of Valparaiso reports this Fall nine public meetings with an attendance of 1550 and twelve study meetings. There are approximately 1000 to 1200 undergraduates and about 1000 graduates members of the Society. About one-half of the Chapter members are Socialists. Yale, Union Theological, Wesleyan, and a number of other Chapters have a preponderance of non-Socialist members; Valparaiso, C. C. N. Y. and others, a preponderance of Socialists, while such colleges as the University of Illinois, John Marshall Law and George Washington contain about an equal number of Socialists and non-Socialists.

"Among the text books used are Jessie W. Hughan's "Facts of Socialism," Morris Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice" and "Socialism Summed Up," Spargo's "Elements of Socialism," Benson's "Truth About Socialism," Kautsky's "Class Struggle" and Walling's "Socialism As It Is."

"*The Intercollegiate Socialist* has had as its contributors during the last year writers of national and international repute, including J. Ramsay Macdonald, Morris Hillquit, J. Keir Hardie, Karl Kautsky, Jean Longuet, Samuel Merwin, C. Hanford Henderson, Prof. Henry C. Emery, John Spargo, William English Walling, Rose Pastor Stokes, Jessie W. Hughan, I. M. Rubinow, Florence Kelley, Helen L. Sumner, Caro Lloyd, A. M. Simons, Upton Sinclair, Juliet S. Poyntz, Lucia A. Mead, P. A. Levene, Emilie J. Hutchinson, W. L. Stoddard, F. F. Rockwell and others. The paper has started a policy of devoting a few pages in each magazine to contributions from some particular college. The members of the Society are urged to assist in building up the circulation by obtaining subscriptions, purchasing bundles for distribution and by patronizing advertisers.

"A friend of the Society has offered a small endowment for research work, to be conducted along specific lines during the next year under the auspices of the Society. Pamphlets will probably be written by experts on present-day conditions and the tendencies toward collectivism, and published in connection with *The Intercollegiate Socialist.*

"I. S. S. Chapters should be in their respective institutions the most vital intellectual forces in undergraduate life. A thorough knowledge of Socialism gives a remarkable insight into our whole national and international life—political, social, economic and cultural; it equips the student with the power to grapple effectively with the great problems of present-day civilization; it gives a new significance to the meaning of equality of opportunity, of democracy, of liberty, of human brotherhood."

Mr. Laidler also urged that each chapter keep its character as a study organization.

Greetings from the University Socialist Federation were then read as follows:

"I am writing on behalf of the officers and Executive of the University Socialist Federation to convey to you, to your Executive Committee, and to your Annual Convention the heartiest greetings of the University Socialists of Great Britain. It is with mixed feelings, of satisfaction and envy, that we watch the normal proceeding of your business—satisfaction that somewhere at least in the civilized world the work of Socialists continues unhampered, envy that it cannot do so here in Europe.

"Most cordial relations have been established during the last few years between our two organizations, and have been immeasurably strengthened by our recent opportunities for personal acquaintance—opportunities which we hope may be renewed at some near and happier future. It is a source of gratification to us that these cordial relations are in no way shaken by the European catastrophe, and that there exists between us no reason for suspicion or distrust, and no need for reconciliation or explanation.

"Indeed the war itself is a contributory reason why we look to you and your organization with even more hope and admiration than usual. When the shattered International comes to be rebuilt, a difficult task of reconstruction will fall very largely on the shoulders of Socialists in neutral countries. Amongst these the Socialists of the U. S. A. will surely be the foremost, and we know what an essential part among the Socialists of the U. S. A. the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has played and is destined to play.

"Please convey to your Convention our most sincere greetings and our very best wishes for highly successful deliberations, and believe me, on behalf of

THEODORE CHAUNDY, *Chairman U. S. F.*
ELLEN C. WILKINSON,
Vice-Chairman U. S. F.
DONALD BRUCE-WALKER, *Sec'y U. S. F.*
ALFRED L. BACHARACH, *Hon. Treasurer*
U. S. F. and the Executive Committee

The delegates then gave short reports. Mr. Mandrey of AMHERST told of the reorganization of the Amherst Chapter and mentioned as the chief difficulties in the way of a strong Chapter the spirit of indifference regarding public questions, and the proximity of the college to Smith and Mt. Holyoke. Mr. Sturgis of CLARK told of the great interest in Socialism and allied problems found there. Donald Stern of COLUMBIA explained the work of members of the Columbia Chapter, which consists of over 50 students, in furthering the anti-militaristic agitation. He stated that the public and study meetings of the Chapter had

been very successful and that a liberal spirit existed in Columbia in spite of the administration.

Gustave Gerber of CORNELL spoke of the roseate future before the Chapter in Ithaca. Mr. Solomon of C. C. N. Y. told of the successful public meetings of the Fall, and declared that a large part of the student body was Socialistic. Mr. Chubb of HARVARD explained the necessity of the expansive system of public lectures, and student forums, as opposed to the intensive system of private study meetings. He declared that the teaching of class-consciousness (of the working class type, presumably) was practically impossible at Harvard, considering the social strata from which the students sprang.

Mr. Foster of HOWARD told of the promising movement there. Mr. Loomis of ILLINOIS mentioned the handicaps that beset the faculty in many places and of the unusual prudence they have to exercise to keep their positions. The Chapter, now stronger than formerly, is divided into two groups, one for men and one for women. The women members are among the most enthusiastic. Outside speakers are also needed for public addresses.

Miss Lapidus of the AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE stated that the members of that group met bi-monthly with the Springfield Alumni Association. Mr. Rachmel of NEW YORK UNIVERSITY told of the special difficulties of a Chapter composed of members of the School of Commerce, who worked during the day, and studied at night. He stated that the members had distributed several hundred I. S. S. pamphlets to the students, and in that way were calling attention to the Chapter. Mr. Hourwich of the UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA told of the possibilities of the newly organized Chapter there, which had received the indorsement of Professors Edgerton, Nearing, Jastrow and others.

Miss Whitney of RADCLIFFE described the formation of the Civics Club by a combination, for certain purposes, of the Suffrage and Anti-suffrage Clubs in order to avoid the ineffectiveness which comes from too great a multiplicity of organizations. Each member of the club retains its own identity and is given three official dates for public lectures. Miss Fezandri of BARNARD stated that the group is now holding informal meetings at luncheons in order to thrash out questions of interest.

Mr. Trachtenberg of YALE lauded the "Yale" system of devoting energy to public lectures, of which ten a year are given. "Through this policy," said Mr. Trachtenberg, "the Yale Chapter has become influential enough to induce the University to list a course in Socialism, to compel the library to purchase over 300 Socialist books, to outvie every other non-athletic student organization, and to entice Professor Emery into a Socialist debate!" Recently private study meetings have been held.

Mr. Hinkle, speaking for the NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE of the I. S. S., told of the work of the committee in giving two dinners, one in the Spring and one in the Fall, at which members of several I. S. S. Chapters in New England were invited; and also of the plans now being formulated for reaching unorganized colleges, for stimulating Chapters already organized, and for interesting alumni of New England in I. S. S. work. Mr. Duke of RICHMOND mentioned the desirability of getting editors of college papers, etc., interested and of inducing members to start Socialistic discussions in their respective societies. Mr. Waksman of RUTGERS said that the authorities were opposed to the formation of a Chapter but that 15 or 20 desired to organize and could be depended on to start a study group. Miss Jones of the WILKES-BARRE Alumni Chapter told of the recent organization with 15 members, and of their hopes for the future.

In discussing the BOSTON Alumni Chapter activities, Mr. Mills said that the movement there was trying to adapt itself to the peculiar needs of the local situation, and that the New England Committee was planning to take over the functions of the Boston Alumni Chapter.

Miss Lloyd of the NEW YORK Alumni Chapter gave the membership of this branch as over 300, with an average attendance of from 50 to 75. She declared that the Chapter was devoting itself this year more to private and informal bi-monthly meetings than to the larger gatherings.

Mr. Sinclair urged that students see to it that a group of leaders be developed from lower classes, so that when the active members leave, they may be assured of the continuance of the work. The delegates from Yale and Amherst urged that some of the officers and members of the Executive Committee be elected from the juniors and underclassmen.

The topic of militarism was touched upon; the stand of the Columbia Chapter in the anti-militarist agitation was more fully explained and applauded; the International Polity Club of Harvard was described; and the advocacy by President James of the extension of military training in state universities to four years was commented upon.

A Resolutions Committee of five was then appointed by the President, consisting of Messrs. Douglas, Hinkle, Trachtenberg and Walling, together with the President, for the purpose of bringing in a motion concerning the attitude of the I. S. S. toward militarism. The delegates also instructed the Committee

to send return greetings to the British University Socialist Federation.

DISCUSSION OF CHAPTER PROBLEMS.

The discussion of Chapter problems was the principal business of the Wednesday morning session. Mr. Duncan of YALE, speaking on the topic, "How Shall Public Meetings Be Conducted?" declared that the conduct of public meetings at Yale had been the best method of getting the aims of Socialism before college students. It was his belief that the meetings should be led and controlled by the society and its officers; that the townspeople should be admitted, and that all meetings should be held in college buildings. In advertising the meeting college publications and city papers should be utilized to the full and the editors and officers of college papers should be secured as members of the society. The lectures should also, if possible, be listed on the college weekly bulletin of events; the college professors should be asked to announce the lectures, and large posters should be placed around the campus. The meetings at Yale are financed by the members and professors. The members pay $1.00 a year, 75c. of which goes for the local fund. Professors have contributed from $1.00 to $10.00 a year to the Society. Finally, Mr. Duncan urged the Chapters to obtain both Socialists and anti-Socialists as speakers.

Mr. Gerber of CORNELL declared that the I. S. S. Chapter there turned the public meetings into semi-discussion meetings and requested the professors and others who addressed them to speak *with* them rather than *to* them. This method led to the development of a forum which proved most valuable.

Miss Whitney of RADCLIFFE, in speaking of "Co-operation of I. S. S. Chapters with Other College Organizations," dwelt again on the Civics Club idea. Mr. Hinkle also told how, in Williams, a Good Government Club co-ordinates the activities of the various organizations and makes each society more effective than it otherwise would be.

Mr. Hinkle of the NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE, in treating of "The Relation of Chapters to Sectional Committees," described the work that might be done in bringing college Chapters of a given section into closer union with one another and in more effectively aiding and encouraging them in their work by providing speakers, making personal visits, etc., and arranging rallies and get-together meetings of members of different Chapters to discuss matters of common interest.

Miss Poyntz of the NEW YORK Alumni Chapter urged the necessity of reaching and holding college graduates through alumni group work; and also suggested that alumni groups and the I. S. S. consider plans for research work. She urged graduates of colleges to take theses dealing with subjects of a Socialistic nature for M.A. and Ph.D. work. In connection with the discussion arising from this talk, a letter from Mrs. Chamberlain of the Springfield Alumni Chapter was read, containing the suggestion that the Society prepare penny tracts or leaflets on timely topics from the Socialist point of view.

Miss Grout of the BOSTON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE spoke on "The Summer School Idea," taking up the work accomplished in this line by the Fabian Society of England. The Fabian Society, Miss Grout declared, each summer conducted a summer school near Keswick for the space of six weeks. The school has proved of great value (1) in bringing different people interested in the movement in contact with each other; (2) in giving thorough and adequate training in Socialism, and (3) in stimulating research work, many of the research committees making reports at that time on the work they had been doing throughout the year. Following the discussion the delegates urged that the Executive Committee of the I. S. S. consider the question of the advisability of the I. S. S. conducting a summer school.

Mr. Laidler, Organizing Secretary of the I. S. S., then spoke on the subject, "What the Chapters Can Do for the Society"; and urged, among other things, that societies stick to the study purpose of the I. S. S. and see to it that anti-Socialists and non-Socialists, as well as Socialists, join the Chapters; that the members push *The Intercollegiate Socialist*, pay dues and answer communications promptly, and send names of officers and new members to the main office promptly every year. He also suggested that the Chapters endeavor to interest in its membership the most representative students in college.

The question of militarism was then taken up. The resolution of the majority of the Resolutions Committee was read and discussed, as well as a minority report. The first seemed to the delegates to be too limited in its scope, urging upon the Society as it did an anti-militaristic attitude without adequately defining the meaning of "militarism." The second resolution was very broad, and merely requested the members of the I. S. S. to give the question of militarism serious thought and attention, a suggestion which seemed superfluous. Consequently, after some discussion, it was moved and carried to table the whole matter.

The delegates also moved that return greetings be sent to John Spargo and the Springfield local.

ALUMNI CHAPTER PROBLEMS.

The last session of the Convention was the Alumni session held Thursday morning at Miss Stokes' Studio. Caro Lloyd told how the New York Chapter was conducting its study meetings and emphasized the desirability of arranging a continuous course of studies throughout the year and of having printed programs of such courses ready by the Fall. She also dwelt on the importance of the social side of these gatherings.

Harriet L. Jones of Wilkes-Barre urged young alumni chapters to select a short textbook on Socialism; to assign members frequent outside readings; to allow full discussion, and, at special meetings, to discuss events of current interest in their relation to Socialism. Miss Jones spoke of the necessity of having among those who attended the gatherings men and women who could give illustrations from practical every-day life. Miss Poyntz mentioned the research work which was being started by the Society, and expressed the belief that this feature had wonderful possibilities for usefulness. William English Walling and Grover G. Mills spoke on the Fabian Society. Mr. Walling expressed the belief that the middle class was bound to perform a most important work in the Socialist movement. A lively discussion followed Mr. Walling's remarks. Others who took part in the discussion of the morning were J. G. Phelps Stokes, Jessie W. Hughan, Mary R. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, Rose Pastor Stokes, Harry W. Laidler and others.

The delegates at the Convention were: Adelphi, Mary E. Anderson, Rosemary Boenig; Amherst, W. H. Mandrey; Barnard, Doret Fezandri, Anna Kuttner, Elizabeth Hall; Clark, H. Sturgis; C. C. N. Y., A. G. Becker, David H. Cohn, S. Lasky, L. Solomon; Columbia, Donald M. Stern, Fred Oppenheimer, Paul H. Douglas, S. S. Bobbe, Wayne Wellman, Karl G. Karsten, P. F. Brissenden (frat.), A. Winesteine (frat.); Cornell, Gustave A. Gerber, H. C. Beckowitz, C. H. Reader (frat.), J. de Porte (frat.); Harvard, R. W. Chubb; Howard, William H. Foster; Illinois University, R. S. Loomis, L. W. Elston; (American) International College, Lena Lapidus; Mass. Inst. of Technology, Julius Kuttner; N. Y. U. School of Commerce, Bernard Rachmel, Israel Feinbaum; Pennsylvania, Gilbert Lang, N. I. Hourwich; Radcliffe, Dorothea U. Whitney; Union Theolog., E. L. Brown, Julius Knoefifer, Laurens Seelye, H. R. Williams; Yale, G Gutwillig, T. M. Duncan, R. M. Gifford, A. L. Trachtenberg, M. H. Levine (frat.).

N. Y. Law, Geo. L. Cohen: Richmond, J. C. Duke; Rutgers, S. A. Waksman; Wellesley, Gertrude Wolff; Vassar, Gertrude Folks.

Boston Alumni, Mary Wood Daley, Louise A. Grout, Prof. Ellen Hayes, Grover G. Mills; Fresno Alumni, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Haberman; N. Y. Alumni, Caro Lloyd, Juliet S. Poyntz, Alice K. Boehme, Harry W. Laidler; Wilkes-Barre Alumni, Harriet L. Jones, Eunice C. Smith, Mrs. Long (frat.), Mrs. Samuel Slavin (frat.).

Among the visitors at the Executive Sessions were: George H. Strobell, Evelyn Hughan, Mrs. S. H. Perky, Miss Wilson, C. E. Griffith, C. Schumacher, Mrs. R. G. Leavitt, Charles Ferguson, J. Jacobs, Elizabeth Goldstein.

NOTE:—"Frat." above stands for fraternal delegate.

IN THE COLLEGES.

NEW ENGLAND STATES

The New England Committee is scheduling Dr. George R. Lunn of Schenectady among a number of the New England colleges during February. On Saturday night, February 13th, the Committee is planning a dinner in Boston on the question of Socialism and the War, at which Dr. Lunn will be the principal speaker.

In his December trip among the New England colleges, Mr. Laidler spoke in the Connecticut Agricultural College, Clark, Bowdoin, Bates, Colby, the University of Maine, Radcliffe, Simmons and the Mass. Institute of Technology. At the Maine colleges the Organizing Secretary lectured before 10 economics and sociology classes, and at the University of Maine, at the chapel exercises. The trip was most successful. Mr. Laidler also addressed the College Senate at Trinity College.

William English Walling spoke in early December at Harvard, Radcliffe, Simmons, Brown and other colleges.

Ordway Tead has just finished a most successful trip to Amherst, Springfield Y. M. C. A. College and Clark.

The YALE Chapter, in combination with a number of other organizations in the college, held a monster anti-militarist meeting on January 11th, with Hamilton Holt as the principal speaker. The meeting has given a considerable impetus to the movement for the limitation of armaments and to that against military drill in colleges. A professor of Harvard recently delivered a talk on J. J. Rousseau before the study group. On February 3, Dr. John A. Ryan will tell why he objects to Socialism. Rev. George R. Lunn spoke before a crowded house on "Socialism and the Municipality" in December; while Dr. Jessie W. Hughan addressed a study meeting on "Karl Marx." The RADCLIFFE Chapter is planning to have Prof. Vida D. Scudder as a speaker during the Spring. Miss

Dorothea U. Whitney is president and Miss Ruth E. Fletcher, secretary. As a result of Mr. Laidler's trip, the AMHERST Chapter has re-organized and has held successful meetings. Prof. Sprague of M. A. C. has recently addressed the group. W. H. Mandrey is the secretary. A Chapter was also formed at BATES College as a result of Mr. Laidler's trip. At BOWDOIN College a Chapter was formed with W. O. Keegan as chairman and D. S. White secretary; at Bates, a group was formed with John Goba as chairman.

"I wish to inform you of the fact that the CLARK Chapter of the I. S. S. has settled down to active work, and expects to accomplish much within the course of the next academic semester," writes Isador Lubin, secretary of that Chapter.

Mr. R. W. Chubb of HARVARD reports that the Chapter held two successful meetings in the Fall. One, addressed by Mr. Walling, had an attendance of over 100, and after the meeting twenty new members enrolled. The Chapter's program looks most promising for the coming year. The WILLIAMS Chapter reports two meetings this year, with Harry W. Laidler and William English Walling as speakers. The M. I. T. Chapter re-organized in December, and looks forward to a good season. Mr. Laidler and Ordway Tead have thus far spoken. A movement is on foot to organize at TUFTS.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

Now that the COLUMBIA Chapter has received the privilege of holding as many public meetings as it desires during the year, a good program is being arranged. Dr. Jessie W. Hughan addressed the group in December on "Marxian Socialism." A Chapter has just been organized at TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, Philadelphia, following the visit of Mr. Laidler. Mr. Laidler spoke before Prof. Leed's class on social science in January.

The CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY has recently received a Charter. Harry Horelick is one of its leading spirits. The University of CINCINNATI is studying Kautsky's "Class Struggle." It is arranging a series of talks for the Spring. Max Senior of Cincinnati is materially assisting the group. Paul Kennaday and others addressed large groups in C. C. N. Y. in December. Mr. Kennaday talked on "New Zealand." The BARNARD Chapter is now concentrating on small weekly discussion meetings at stated noon periods. CORNELL is doing fine work this year. Its various meetings this Fall were addressed by Dr. H. B. Besemer, Gustave A. Gerber, the secretary of the club; Professor Burr, Professor Karapetoff, Harry W. Laidler and George Kirkpatrick.

The NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF COMMERCE is endeavoring to arrange a debate in one of the University buildings. It has distributed several hundred I. S. S. pamphlets among the students. Bernard Rachmel is the president. The UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA group, with Ralph Cheyney as president, Mr. Burt as secretary, and Mr. Hourwich and others as active spirits, are doing excellent work. Professors Morris J. Jastrow, Jr., Franklin Edgerton and Scott Nearing have recently become endorsers of the Society. Harry W. Laidler spoke in January in Houston Hall, U. of P., and before the history and economics classes. A substantial Chapter has been formed at the UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH with A. Epstein as chairman and L. H. Piazza as secretary. In January Mr. Laidler spent three days in PRINCETON, giving talks before W. Evans Clark's classes in municipal and constitutional government. He also gave a lecture on "Socialism and the War" before the general public. Several new members joined the Princeton Socialist Club, including a number of instructors.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY reports a remarkable increase in membership, having on its list about one-fourth of the college body. John Haynes Holmes addressed the group on December 15th. Laurens Seelye and Howard R. Williams are among the leading spirits. Prof. Brook's class in political science combined with Prof. Robinson's class in economics on January 20 to listen to lectures on "Socialism and the War" and "The Principles of Socialism" by Harry W. Laidler.

MIDDLE WEST

College trips for Irwin Tucker and Harry W. Laidler are being arranged in this section.

The HAMLINE UNIVERSITY Chapter has thoroughly re-organized this year. Prof. Beyer is assisting. The UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS Chapter was addressed in December by Dr. John C. Kennedy of Chicago on "The Constructive Program of Socialism." Mr. Kennedy made a splendid impression. The MIAMI UNIVERSITY Chapter is intending to have Bouck White address the group.

"It took a good deal of urging and effort to get them lined up, but we finally succeeded, as you already know. I wouldn't be surprised if we have fifty members by the end of this term," writes Bryce C. Swartfager of the VALPARAISO Chapter. "Valparaiso is again in the fight." The Chapter is doing good work. It has held nine lectures with prominent lecturers. These lectures have been attended by 1550 persons. Besides these the students have had 15 study meetings and have sold $70 worth of Socialist literature. Bryce C. Swartfager and Chas. O. Ziering are among the leaders.

SOUTH

RICHMOND COLLEGE listened to its first public address on Socialism on Monday, Jan. 27th, when Harry W. Laidler spoke on that subject in the college auditorium. J. C. Duke is the most active of the students. Mr. Laidler spoke in the college chapel of HOWARD UNIVERSITY on "Socialism" and a public meeting on "The Labor War and Its Remedy," under the auspices of the Social Science Club on January 22nd. Several members were gained at this time.

PACIFIC COAST

A group has been organized at the Los ANGELES OSTEOPATHIC COLLEGE, with a membership of twenty. Abraham Rickles of the UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON writes: "The Socialist movement is very strong in the State of Washington, and we hope to have at Washington one of the strongest Chapters in the I. S. S." The Chapter holds regular study meetings, at which prominent Socialists and social-workers speak. Mr. Laidler hopes to visit the Pacific Coast in the Spring.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

The CHICAGO Alumni Chapter reports progress. The Chapter held a dinner on November 21st, followed by a lecture program, at which Mme. Rosika Schwimmer of Budapest, Austria, representative of women's organizations of 15 countries, spoke in behalf of international peace. The WILKES-BARRE Alumni Chapter is endeavoring to secure Charles Edward Russell for a meeting. The PHILADELPHIA Alumni Chapter was re-organized on January 20th at a meeting held at the home of Miss Alice Cheyney. Miss Cheyney was elected temporary chairman and Dr. Louise Stevens Bryant temporary secretary. Messrs. Hutchinson and O'Bolger were elected additional members of the Program Committee. At the first meeting of the Society, on February 3rd, Mr. Gibbons will give a talk on "Single Tax and Socialism." The Chapter is planning to discuss at its meetings a number of immediate reforms in their relation to Socialism.

About 20 residents of Schenectady recently formed a strong Chapter in that city, with Mr. Campbell as president and Dr. Kirshberg as secretary-treasurer, at the lecture room of Prof. Chas. P. Steinmetz. Professor Steinmetz gave the first talk before the group on Socialism. An exceedingly interesting program is outlined. Municipal problems especially will be considered.

The NEW YORK Alumni Chapter is continuing its regular work. On February 24th, March 10th and March 24th it will hold three meetings on the questions of Socialism and the War. The subjects under discussion are: (1) Were the chief causes of the war economic, philosophical, political or racial? (2) Is a healthy nationalism a prerequisite to a healthy internationalism? (3) What anti-war measures should American Socialists propose before and after the declaration of war?

The regular study meetings for February and March are: Feb. 4—"Women and Children in Industry"; speakers, Helen Marot, Elizabeth Dutcher, Chairman; at Miss Stokes' Studio. Feb. 18—"Municipal Socialism"; speakers, Dr. Fred. C. Howe, Dr. T. Boehme, Darwin J. Meserole, Chairman; at home of Dr. P. A. Levene. Mar. 4—"Co-operation"; speakers, Florence Kelley, Sidney A. Reeve, Chairman; at Miss Stokes' Studio. Mar. 18—"The Minimum Wage"; speakers, Sen. Robt. F. Wagner (probably), Esther Packard, Dr. I. M. Rubinow, N. I. Stone, Felix Grendon, Chairman, and others.

The SPRINGFIELD Chapter is scheduling ex-Mayor Lunn. The WASHINGTON Alumni Chapter has recently been re-organized.

On the 30th ult. considerable newspaper publicity was given to certain personal remarks made the previous evening by Mr. William English Walling with reference to Mr. Morris Hillquit at a reception given by the New York Chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to the delegates to the Sixth Annual Convention of that Society, many representatives of the general public being also present. It has come to the attention of the Executive Committee of the Society that many persons felt justified in assuming that these personal remarks might have been acceptable to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, therefore, begs the courtesy of your columns for publicity for this statement: The Executive Committee deplores the attack and regrets that it was made and declares itself in no wise responsible for the personal views expressed by any of its members. On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, J. G. Phelps Stokes, President; Leroy Scott, Secretary.

On account of serious illness, J. Keir Hardie has been unable to contribute the promised article to the current number of the magazine. Mr. Hardie's secretary has written that it will be necessary for the veteran Socialist leader to secure absolute rest.

All friends of the Society are urged to obtain subscriptions at 25c. for *The Intercollegiate Socialist,* and to order bundles of the magazine, 15 for $1.00, for distribution. *Unless such support is given—and given immediately —the magazine will be unable to continue publication.*

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